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WORKSHOP FOR COUNSELORS AND EDUCATORS CONCERNED WITH THE EDUCATION, TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT OF MINORITY YOUTH. FINAL REPORT, PART II. DISCUSSION GUIDE TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE CULTURALLY DEPRIVED: AN INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHERS AND COUNSELORS. UNIVERSITY COLLEGE RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS NUMBER 8.
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Developed out of a workshop conducted during the summer of 1965, this guide provides introductory information in areas pertinent to the study of the culturally deprived youth, raises questions for discussion or future exploration, examines some aspects of fair employment for minority groups, and supplies a relevant bibliography. A comprehensive review of the literature is presented on (1) the effect of cultural disadvantagement on the personality structure, (2) the intellectual effects of cultural deprivation, (3) the problems of psychological assessment of culturally deprived children, and (4) sources of educational programs for alleviating deprivation, with focus on the climate within the community, the home environment, and the relation of the problem in general to socioeconomic status. Findings reported in the four areas which are applicable to employment in business and industry are included. A summary lists descriptive terms of the personality and intellectual deficiencies of and guidelines of behavior for effective and efficient human relations with culturally deprived minority groups. Questions for discussion and a bibliography follow each subject area. (PS)

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FINAL REPORT

Part II:

Discussion Guide to the Problems of the Culturally Deprived: An Introduction for Teachers and Counselors

John M. Whiteley
and
King M. Wientge

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
Saint Louis, Missouri

and the
following

Metropolitan Saint Louis
Plans for Progress Companies
A Voluntary Industrial Organization under
The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

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The PLANS FOR PROGRESS Workshop represents the cooperative effort of business and industry, and education in Metropolitan St. Louis to support the federal government in providing equal employment opportunity. Representatives of eleven St. Louis companies, volunteers in the PLANS FOR PROGRESS program, initiated a request to Washington University that a Workshop be conducted during the summer of 1965 for the purpose of improving communication between schools and industry concerning job opportunities for qualified applicants preparing for entry into the world of work. Funds for the Workshop were provided by the sponsoring companies. Members of the PLANS FOR PROGRESS Steering Committee, composed of representatives from the sponsoring companies and Washington University follow:

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The Field Trip Committee implemented the five days of industrial visitation set out in the proposal.
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The Program Committee coordinated plans for the curriculum of the Workshop.
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The PLANS FOR PROGRESS University Committee contributed much to the planning and development of the Workshop. Members of the University Committee follow:

Lattie F. Coor, Assistant to the Chancellor;
Lynn W. Eley, Dean of University College and Summer School;
John B. Ervin, Associate Dean and Director of the Summer School; and
Judson T. Shaplin, Director of the Graduate Institute of Education.

The PLANS FOR PROGRESS Workshop Instructional Staff provided stimulating lectures and discussions in the on-campus sessions covering various aspects of problems and areas with which the Workshop was concerned. The Instructional Staff was composed of the following persons:

K. Brooks Bernhardt, Director of Personnel,
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Responsibility for the over-all and day-to-day operation of the Workshop, for the coordination of daily activities, and for a myriad of other arrangements was that of the Workshop Staff:

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Clerical Staff - Sandra Segall; Mrs. Ella Burmeister.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction to the Discussion Guide

This Discussion Guide developed out of the Plans for Progress Workshop which was conducted during the summer of 1965 at Washington University. It has four specific goals: 1) to provide introductory information in areas pertinent to the study of the culturally deprived youth; 2) to raise questions for discussion or future exploration based on the introductory information; 3) to examine some aspects of fair employment for minority groups; and 4) to supply a relevant bibliography for those interested in pursuing further a particular topic.

The complexity of the problem involving culturally deprived children and adults has long both intrigued and baffled psychologists and educators alike. It is a problem toward which the efforts of the central government with its massive resources are being directed for the first time.

Recent studies by such competent psychologists as McClelland (1963) have focused on the tremendous loss of talent which results when the country does not tap its resources to the fullest. But the focus of this work has been on the loss of talent in terms of the nation's needs. Human concern is the basis for recent legislation.

The Problem

The problem posed by the culturally disadvantaged will require the combined efforts of many segments of society working together before it can be resolved. The scope of the problem is vast. According to Havighurst (1963), "By 1970 one out of every two children in the New York City schools can be appropriately classified as culturally disadvantaged." This problem is closely related to urban areas of the country. In 1930, 61% of the United States was urban. By 1980, 75% of the country will be so classified. This leads to increased segregation as the basis of economic, social and racial factors.

Havighurst (1963) is again helpful in understanding what happens to education in the culturally disadvantaged sections of a city. For 91 elementary schools in the borough of Manhattan there was a 51% turnover in the school population. For 25 junior high schools the turnover rate was 47%. The composition of these schools included a large percentage of Negro and Puerto Rican children. In 1960 Havighurst stated 14% of the population was Negro, but they contributed 22% of the school age children. Puerto Ricans composed 7% of the population, but 16% of the school children. Together, Havighurst states, these generally disadvantaged groups composed 20% of the population, but an astounding 40% of the school children.

The question logically arises as to what effect this will have on the schools. Goldberg (1963) discussed a specific effect which has meaning for areas of the educational enterprise. In discussing the intelligence level of children in the New York City schools, she found that the effects of cultural disadvantage on children are both progressive and cumulative. Puerto Rican boys in the third grade have a mean I.Q. of 85. By the sixth grade this has slipped to 80. Negro boys had a mean I.Q. of 91 in the third grade; by the sixth grade this had slipped to 87. For all other children in the school, the mean I.Q. in the third grade had been 103; and in the sixth grade it had become 106.

These disadvantaged youngsters, then, become more disadvantaged rapidly. The importance of intelligence quotient is not its static number, but its implication that capacity for new learning in relation to expectation of new learning for disadvantage children is decreasing with age.

Studying the Culturally Disadvantaged

The research literature on the culturally disadvantaged is not extensive compared to other areas of educational endeavor. It would ideally provide assistance in two areas: 1) Review of significant areas that have been studied and their particular implications for future research; and 2) an indication of practical implications which may be of immediate use. This second area is the most relevant to our work. The problems of the deprived must be faced because of their human nature. Educational research has provided us more effective tools with which to help solve them. For the immediate future it is imperative to make as effective use as possible of what is currently known.

Within the body of literature on cultural disadvantage there are a number of problems in evaluation and interpretation. The effect of social class is not always partialed out. Lower class does not necessarily mean cultural disadvantage. Sound research would dictate sharper criterion groups than are apparent in much research.

Confusion results from assuming that Negroes as Negroes are culturally disadvantaged. Again, many Negroes are culturally disadvantaged either because of the effects of urban living or the residual effect of racial discrimination. Objective comparisons of Negroes and Whites are handicapped by the interaction of social class and cultural disadvantage.

Cultural disadvantage has been found to have different effects at different age levels. The study of changing I.Q.'s by Goldberg (1963) reports the effects of cultural disadvantage as both progressive and cumulative. Studies are now needed which analyze at different age levels the effect of cultural disadvantage on intellective and personality functioning. The focus of these studies should be on the effects found at specific points in time rather than assuming that cultural disadvantage can be studied as a general topic.

The literature, although not as extensive as would be desirable, presents a number of outstanding studies. Attention will be focused on the more pertinent and informative of these in the following chapters, and a bibliography has been selected to be of specific assistance in pursuing topics of interest.

Outline of the Study

The Discussion Guide is divided into five general areas. Chapter II will be concerned with the psychological effects of cultural deprivation as manifested in personality structure. Chapter III will focus on the intellectual effects of cultural deprivation. Chapter IV will examine the problem of psychological evaluation of disadvantaged youth, particularly in terms of intellective functioning. Chapter V will present a number of programs for assisting the culturally deprived youth, especially programs related to education. The final section of the Guide, Chapter VI, will be oriented to the employment of culturally disadvantaged youth in business and industry.

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CHAPTER II

The Effect of Cultural Disadvantage on Personality Structure

To state that being culturally disadvantaged in the United States leads to lower financial status and less possibility for employment can be documented with ease and certainty. To state, however, that being culturally disadvantaged has major effects on personality structure is to state something far more difficult to document with equal certainty. Research in this area has not been of particular interest to psychologists--if one is to take the amount of research as an index of interest. In order to gain some perspective on the effects of cultural disadvantage on personality structure, one is required to put greater emphasis on a relatively small number of research studies, from which a number of frequently appearing conclusions emerge. In other words, there is a high degree of consensus based on the studies that have been conducted on the effects of cultural disadvantage on personality.

This section of the Discussion Guide will provide a brief overview of the literature by citing an example within each of the areas which has occurred with frequency.

Riessman (1962) has written a book oriented first toward developing a portrait of the culturally deprived child, and secondly, toward suggested implications for school action on the basis of current knowledge. In terms of educational demands, Riessman's portrait is one of a personality which is ill-suited to the demands and expectations of academic pursuit. He sees the culturally deprived as alienated, politically apathetic, limited in the development of individualism, suggestible, naive, and anti-intellectual. The approach of such an individual to coping with a task is content-centered and problem-centered, rather than form-centered and abstract-centered. In areas requiring careful but rapid work he is slow rather than facile and flexible. Formal language for appropriate expression of feelings and emotions is lacking. Riessman presents a picture of the culturally deprived personality as greatly weakened in terms of abilities to meet demands which will be required for performance in school and society.

Silverman (1963) further documented the reliance by the culturally deprived on the immediate and the concrete. In a study of 190 upper-middle class and 134 working class adolescents in the 7th and 8th grades, she studied mode of expression, using a semantic differential scale. Working class children were found to be characterized by repressive behavior, while upper-middle class children were characterized by expressive behavior. It appears that if one constantly utilizes a restrictive and repressive approach as a form of adaptive behavior, there is little alternative but to focus on the immediate and the concrete.

The whole area of aspiration, achievement, and future orientation has been of particular concern, as evidenced by the thorough research reported in the literature.

Rosen (1956) found that social class has a marked effect on achievement motivation, and reported that middle class boys were found to have higher achievement motivation scores than do children from more culturally deprived areas.

Another study has focused on the relation between experience and aspiration. Sears (1940) found that past experience is critical to the development of a level of aspiration for a task. For the young child who has had goals which are not consistent with achievements, and who has learned through defeats that aspirations lead only to frustration and difficulty, the level of aspiration will be markedly lower. The culturally deprived child who meets in school not a challenge but a stifling sense of failure is likely to withdraw.

Le Shan (1952) reported that attitude toward the future is related to social class structure. He found that the roots of this lack of orientation toward the future may be traced as far back as early child rearing practices. Lower class families were found to tend to use immediate rewards and punishments as a primary method for training children. The future is stressed by upper-middle, middle, and lower-upper classes in their method of reward and punishment. Le Shan concludes that social class is a major determinant in the development of an orientation toward the future, as opposed to an orientation toward the present.

The implications for education in this statement are considerable. If a child is oriented toward the present in terms of his personal expectations for punishment and reward, an educational experience which stresses planning for the future will not provide any real or significant gratification. Yet this is what the culturally deprived child is forced to live with in his contacts with school. For a personality structure oriented toward the present, yet coping with a day-to-day involvement focusing on the future, the stress is debilitating.

Other bases of difference between culturally deprived and other children are to be found in attitudes toward self, and attitudes toward self in relation to the world. Research studies consistently report lack of self-confidence in the culturally deprived. Goff (1954) found that continued rejection has numerous negative effects on intellectual and personality functioning. Particularly, he pointed to lowered self-confidence and strong feelings of inadequacy which develop in low income children. He found that deprived groups had more feelings of inadequacy in school, and that feelings of self-confidence which are low in early grades tend to become more severe with age. Goff also reported in this study that culturally deprived children meet with different kinds of obstacles to progress than do upper income children. For the latter group, ill health, bad luck, or death were seen as possibly interfering with ambitions, while for the former group, lack of opportunity and lack of money were seen as major sources of frustration for ambition. It is apparent, then, that cultural advantage or disadvantage will greatly influence personal outlook on life.

The culturally deprived child characteristically has a negative self-image--which is not unexpected when deficiencies lead to defeats in every area of encounter. Also, one learns to value oneself in direct proportion to how one is valued by one's peers. As a culturally deprived child grows up, he soon learns that he is not acceptable in certain circles, he lacks the educational tools necessary to succeed and gain recognition in school, and that upon leaving the school he will move directly into the group with the highest unemployment rate in the country.

It is apparent early in life to the disadvantaged child that he is something different. In discussing how this condition affects children as they grow from pre-adolescence to maturity, Ausubel and Ausubel (1963) note the following:

> "During pre-adolescence and adolescence, segregated Negro children characteristically develop low aspirations for academic and vocational achievement. These low aspirations reflect existing social class and academic values, the absence of suitable emulatory models, marked educational retardation, restricted vocational opportunities, lack of parental and peer group support and the cultural impoverishment of the Negro home. Because of loyalty to parents and rejection by the dominant White group, Negro adolescents develop ambivalent feelings toward middle class achievement values and the personality traits necessary for their implementation."

What is critical in this passage is their focus on the fact that cultural deprivation not only develops values which are not consistent with those necessary for success in the mid-20th century, but that the personality structure is formed in such a specific way that even appropriate values, if present, could not be implemented effectively.

Another frequently found characteristic of the culturally deprived child is the lack of one parent in the home--most generally the father. This leads the child to a very different conception of his relationship to other people in society, as well as creating a climate for inadequate sex role identification and differentiation. The pervasive effect of the lack of one parent in the home was described in a study by Lynn and Sawrey (1959). In father-absent homes in Norway, they report children are characterized by immaturity, stronger striving for identification, more compensatory masculinity, and poorer peer adjustment. Translated to the condition of the disadvantaged child in this culture, the results of a lack of one parent are an inability to maturely assume responsibility, a poor capacity to work cooperatively and adjust appropriately to their peers, and a disrupted sex role identification such that is more forced than marked.

Considered as a whole, these quite diverse studies paint a portrait of major deficiencies in personality structure deriving from cultural deprivation. Such a child relies instinctively on the immediate and the concrete because he has learned that this is the source of both his rewards and his punishments. His goals are inconsistent with his achievements, and he has little orientation toward or ability to plan for the future. He is sufficiently disturbed in his emotional development that he suffers from a crippling lack of self-confidence and from an inability to relate to his peers, as well as exhibiting basic difficulties with sex role identification or differentiation.

The effects of cultural disadvantage on personality are multidimensional and deep, with an unusually consistent pattern of deficiency emerging and worsening with age.

The implications for the educator in attempting to develop programs for action are not encouraging. Within the school, the interested and dedicated teacher finds himself confronted with children whose very personality structure is working actively against their being able to assimilate with ease and confidence the materials which provide the basis for cultural exchange.

Questions for Discussion

1. Within society, what seem to be the major causative factors in creating cultural deprivation?

2. If the effects of cultural deprivation are so pervasive, what is the proper extent of the school's responsibility for alleviating difficulties?

3. What is the proper role for the community mental health facilities--clinics, hospitals, psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers--in attempting to work with the problems of the disadvantaged?

4. For the classroom teacher, what are the major implications for effective action?

5. On the basis of recently reviewed research, does it appear possible for an educator to work in terms of his own frame of reference with minority group children?

6. Will it be enough for the educator to present material to a child known to be culturally disadvantaged in this same manner and with the same expectations as can be done with the more advantaged child?

7. Given the fact that people respond to human situations characterized by warmth and integrity, will personality of the teacher and the time that he is willing to devote to the deprived children be of special importance in helping to alleviate the personality deficiencies which have been the result of cultural deprivation?

8. With our knowledge of personality development, what is the most opportune time to begin to work with a culturally deprived child?

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CHAPTER III

Intellectual Effects of Cultural Deprivation

As McClelland (1963) and others have pointed out, culturally disadvantaged children represent a particularly acute loss of resources. Adequate methods for inferring intellectual ability for this group are not available; predominantly verbal tests are used for assessing intellectual ability--and deprived children have been found again and again to be considerably below the national average on such tests. A study by Seashore et.al. (1950) reported that the intelligent quotients of laborers' children were roughly 20 points lower than those of professionals' children. With reports of this kind, it is not unexpected to find, as have Anastasi (1950) and Strodbeck (1958), that children from the lower class are under-represented in managerial and professional occupations.

The reasons for this state of affairs are not hard to find. This fact does not serve to make the problem any less easy to eradicate in an educational system based on opportunity for all but seriously plagued culturally disadvantaged children, who do not share in that opportunity.

Psychological tests ideally are a method for providing some information about the general level of functioning of an individual. But, as Mitchell (1956) has concluded, for the culturally disadvantaged child, all tests of mental ability are more verbally loaded than they are for middle class children. Minority children have difficulty with even the simple verbal skills required by the most culture-free psychological test. Therefore, they can be expected to be penalized on highly loaded verbal tests, and this, in fact, is the case. In New York, for example, the mean I.Q. of 6th grade Puerto Rican children was found by Goldberg (1963) to be 20 points below the national average.

One might wonder at this point if we seemingly understand the difficulty so well, why it has not been eliminated by this time? One important answer is that the problem itself is not fully understood. Assessing intellectual ability is far more complex than originally believed. One example that serves to point out this complexity may be found in a study by Lesser (1964), in which it was demonstrated that differential patterns of mental abilities exist among children of different ethnic groups. While social class had long been considered an important factor in determining ability, this study demonstrated an interaction between social class and ethnic membership. Within each ethnic group, the middle class children were consistently higher in their level of scores than were the lower class children. But the patterns remained the same for the social class groups within their ethnic group. It was found, for example, that Oriental children were very strong in spatial skills and considerably weaker than other children in verbal ability. Jewish children were found to be most able in verbal ability. Their degree of competence in this area was clearly superior to the other groups, and to their own abilities in other areas. Negro children were found to be weak in spatial and numerical skills, and average in verbal ability. The verbal skills of Puerto Rican children are the weakest of all their abilities.

This study has profound implications for assessing intellectual functioning and for assessing the effects of cultural deprivation. If tests are to be designed that will partial out for us the debilitating effects of cultural deprivation, it is not enough to consider only intellectual functioning per se. The tests must be designed with an awareness of the cultural patterns of different groups as they bear on intellectual assessment.

With this preliminary look at the complexity of the problem we will now turn our analysis to a consideration of the developmental factors which contribute to an intellectual impairment in culturally disadvantaged children.

A disadvantaged child grows up in a home which tends to have a minimum of visual stimuli. However, while lacking in a variety of meaningful visual stimuli, the culturally disadvantaged environment has too much auditory stimulation. The problem with auditory stimulation is more than one of volume--meaning or organization of the stimuli is lacking, and it becomes difficult for a child to be accurate in auditory perception because important sounds are merged with unimportant sounds.

The child, by background and by experience, is therefore ill-prepared to make the complex auditory discriminations which are necessary for performance in school. As Deutsch (1963) states:

> "If he has not had experiences with books, with the kinds of perceptual and developmental demands that are made by the school, with the kinds of language demands implicit in the nature of the communication that comes from the teacher to the child--then the child's chances of starting to fail within the school situation are greatly enhanced."

The school, because it represents a new experience with more visual, differential auditory and novel stimulation, is quite foreign for the culturally deprived child.

Deutsch notes that the culturally deprived child has only minimal development of three abilities which must be utilized in the learning process. The deprived child is unable to focus on a task with the same facility as the middle class child for any period of time. He has difficulty in shifting his modes of response. Finally, he has an inability to resist distractions. These problems are built into the environment in which he has lived.

In the factors just discussed, the effects of deprivation are only subtlely apparent. In the next section on language development focus will be on an area in which deprivation effects are immediately obvious through the child's vocalization.

The ability to verbalize, to draw on a large repertoire of expressions, and the ability to conceptualize abstract concepts in verbal terms, are critical factors in school performance. Children learn these skills by listening to appropriate language usage and from association with children and adults who will listen, correct, and help them modify their developing speech patterns.

The culturally disadvantaged child suffers from a lack of such models in his environment.

In the section on personality structure, it was noted that middle class children learn to respond to abstract concepts and to make generalizations, while lower class children are directed toward the concrete and the immediate. This places the lower class child at an obvious disadvantage in the school situation. As John (1963) has noted, for example, middle class Negro children have the advantage over children from lower class Negro homes in tasks requiring abstract language. Siller (1957) found that, particularly in tests of conceptual ability involving verbal items, lower class children were again operating at a considerable disadvantage. These studies indicate the handicap children from disadvantaged homes have in learning and living in educational environments dominated primarily by middle class values and expectations.

The effects of this development pattern are evident in a study by Bernstein (1961), in which he made a distinction between formal and public language. Formal language is that in which structure and syntax are difficult to predict for any individual and sentence organization is used to clarify meaning and make it explicit. Public language is language in which speech is relatively condensed, meanings are restricted, and the possibility of conceptual elaboration reduced; also, for any given individual, sentence structure and syntax are highly predictable. Bernstein found that where the middle class child learned to speak with both formal and public language, the lower class child learned predominantly public language. It is apparent from the definition that public language is descriptive rather than analytic in nature, and it is therefore difficult for an individual with only a repertoire of public language to differentiate language subtleties and nuances and to respond in the light of them. The range of situations to which one can respond if one's language is largely public is greatly restricted.

The language of culturally disadvantaged children was found by Bernstein to be composed of short, grammatically simple, and often unfinished sentences with poor syntax; conjunctions used were simple and repetitive; and adjectives and adverbs had a rigid and limited use. As Bernstein summarized, the major difficulty in using only public language is that it provides no means for generalization since it is insensitive to methods by which generalization is possible.

Here, then, are at least some of the environmental influences which combine to produce retarded intellectual development in culturally deprived children. What follows now are reports of several studies related to pertinent aspects of cognitive deficiency resulting from cultural deprivation.

Deutsch and Brown (1964) investigated factors which they felt influenced the development of children's intellectual functioning. They studied 1st and 5th grade urban school children which they grouped by race, social class, and grade level. The Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test was used to infer intellectual ability. From their study they developed the "cumulative deficit hypothesis," which refers to the fact that the results of cultural deprivation have a greater effect on later developmental stages than occurs at earlier stages.

In developing their hypothesis, these investigators first found Negro children at each socio-economic level scored lower than did White children at the same socio-economic level. The next finding was that the difference between White and Negro intelligence scores increased with each higher socio-economic level. A further finding was that children from father-absent homes scored significantly lower than did children whose families were intact. Their final result relevant to a consideration of cultural deprivation was that the intelligence scores of children who had attended pre-school were significantly higher than those of children who had not attended pre-school. While this was found true for the first grade level, it did not reach statistical significance until the fifth grade level. From their study, the authors therefore concluded that as social class level increases the influences of deprivation become more apparent.

Johns (1963) concluded that acquisition of both abstract and integrated language seems to be hampered by the living conditions in culturally deprived homes. To do well in an academic situation, particularly at the more advanced level of education, requires an increasing ability to abstract and reason. Though it is a matter of degree, it is not as necessary an ability at the earlier levels of school. The "cumulative deficit hypothesis" seems to be based in part on the fact that the children from culturally deprived environments are not forced to do that for which they are ill-prepared until later in their academic experience.

McCandless (1952) concluded in a study that intelligence level may well be a function of material available for learning, and the type of learning that occurs. Advantaged children, he sees, as having the opportunities to acquire the verbal equipment to increase progressively their power to achieve in their environment. Children who start off without the brighter or more exposed children's endowment have a limited range of learning experiences of a constructive sort. McCandless related this to the "performance skew" of the lower socio-economic or deprived children which tends to limit them at a progressively increasing rate. Such children are without the tools necessary to assimilate new experiences and as a result become increasingly more concrete and inflexible in their intellectual approach. These children acquire patterns of self-defeating behaviors, expectancies of failure, belief in personal unworthiness, and other handicaps which interfere with problem solving ability.

Pettigrew (1964) discussed how a deprived environment can serve to lower intelligence. In discussing the handicap faced by the average child, he stated that the environment can constrict his encounter with the world in such a manner that potential is barely tapped. It can serve to mask his actual intelligence in a test situation by not preparing him culturally and motivationally for a middle class task such as taking intelligence tests.

This supports the contention that intelligence as we measure it is to a large degree a product of environmental experiences.

The final study to be considered is that by Osborne (1960) in which he conducted a longitudinal study of differences in mental growth. Using the California Achievement and Mental Maturity Tests, he found that mental age showed a two-year difference at grade six, and almost a four year difference at grade ten, between the culturally deprived and culturally advantaged students. This study, when considered with those previously discussed, gives considerable support to the theory that the effects of cultural deprivation are both progressive and cumulative. As Osborne concluded, the amount of difference increases with time.

Taken as a whole, the studies discussed indicate that a culturally deprived child begins his educational experience ill-equipped to handle the perceptual and intellectual demands of formal education. School leaves him behind from the start. While his more advantaged peers can assimilate what the school has to offer and grow accordingly, the disadvantaged child does not have sufficient cognitive resources to assimilate the materials as the school is presenting them. The result is that as the academic demands become more rigorous at higher levels, and requirements more based on abstract thinking, the already behind, culturally disadvantaged child becomes even further behind.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are the major causative factors responsible for intellectual deficiencies in the culturally deprived?

2. In what specific areas are the effects of deprivation noted in the culturally disadvantaged?

3. Why is it believed that tests of intellectual potential are not adequate indicators of the ability of the disadvantaged?

4. What are the factors which combine to complicate obtaining an accurate indication of the ability of the culturally deprived?

5. In what areas of intellectual functioning is the deprived child particularly unequipped to cope with the challenge of school?

6. In what specific ways are the typical modes of expression of the disadvantaged child a handicap to educational progress?

7. What implications for educational planning exist in the light of the "cumulative deficit hypothesis"?

8. What appears to account for the intellectual 'ceiling' which apparently exists for children who have suffered deprivation of long duration?

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CHAPTER IV

Psychological Assessment with the Culturally Deprived

In 1964 the New York City Board of Education abandoned the general use of intelligence tests of a group nature, and largely replaced them with an observational guide. This observational guide systematizes the clues which assist in judging a child's intellectual development. Significant for our discussion is the fact that a large school district in which one out of two students will be disadvantaged by 1970 did not find group measures of intellectual assessment appropriate or effective.

Psychological tests were effectively branded as villains. Yet Hechinger of the New York Times stated that it is no solution to remove yard sticks which merely reflect the handicap that an underprivileged child works under. The competition, noted Hechinger, that disadvantaged children will meet in their later life is going to be based on middle class rules. What is more important than doing away with group tests is to understand what group tests and other methods of psychological assessment can contribute, then to develop programs of assessment which will capitalize on the strength of the tests.

The answer to the problem of psychological assessment with culturally deprived children is not in "neutralizing" tests, but in understanding the intellectual and personality deficiencies which result from deprivation and in instituting programs and procedures to mitigate these deprivational effects.

In this section focus will be on a number of topics: 1) specific difficulties of testing with deprived children, and how tests generally serve to underpredict their performance; 2) how tests and learning are not necessarily related for the culturally deprived, that there are different ways to get the same test score, that the content of a test for a deprived child may be quite different from what its title indicates, and that tests tap only some skills; 3) the fact that one cannot simply modify tests and assume that the problem has been largely eliminated; and 4) possible procedures in testing which will serve to solve the problem.

In the Journal of Social Issues (1964), a group of psychologists, members of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, provide a number of guidelines for testing minority group children. Three principal difficulties with standardized tests, when they are used with disadvantaged minority groups, are identified:

1. They may not provide reliable differentiation in the range of the minority group's scores.
2. Their predictive validity for minority groups may be quite different from that for the standardization and validation groups.
3. The validity of their interpretation is strongly dependent upon an adequate understanding of the social and cultural background of the group in question.

The authors note that too little attention has been given to the possible dependence of test reliability on subcultural differences. This is particularly important since the reliability coefficient of a psychological test is strongly influenced by the spread of test scores. For many tests, children from disadvantaged levels commonly have smaller spreads in their test scores than do children from advantaged families. This would, of course, markedly affect the test reliability.

In discussing the validity of standardized tests with minority group children, the authors noted that validity may be influenced by a lack of test-taking skills, the presence of an unusual amount of anxiety, a lack of motivation, reduced speed, impaired understanding of test instructions, lack of rapport with the examiner, and other factors in the test situation which are unique to the minority group.

Another factor related to validity is the decline over time in academic aptitude and achievement which disadvantaged children exhibit (Masland, Sarason, and Gladwin, 1958). While advantaged children as a group keep pace with their peers as they progress through school, the disadvantaged group, in relation to the general population, does not.

The third major area discussed by the authors concerns the validity of test interpretation. They discussed three general difficulties with minority group children in this area. The first difficulty they called "deviation error"--the attributing of maladjustment to a disadvantaged child because his response is anomalous to the standardization group responses. Although his response may be quite typical for the minority group of which he is a member, since that group was not a major factor in the standardization of the test his response could be interpreted as "maladjusted." Secondly, a science test may really be a reading test for disadvantaged children, while it is only a science test for the dominant culture group. In other words, it is difficult to know specifically, for the disadvantaged child, what a test is measuring. Thirdly, performance in a specific area may reflect, for a minority group child, a specific area of confidence and competence; that is, specific religious or environmental experience may under-evaluate some skills, but may over-evaluate others, and it is important in helping a disadvantaged child for one to be aware of both possible sources of under- and over-prediction.

With minority group children tests most frequently underestimate performance or ability. According to a study by Boger (1952) of rural White and Negro children, scores from I.Q. tests give an estimate of mental ability which is an injustice to those pupils so far as actual ability is concerned. The rural ungraded schools in which the sampling occurred are not much different in intellectual stimulation from the large urban schools which are also major centers for the culturally deprived.

Kennedy, Vanderiet and White (1965) conducted a normative study of intelligence of Negro elementary school children in the southeastern United States. They felt it was necessary to have broad normative data on a Negro population in order to make intelligence test findings meaningful for both individual and group interpretation with these disadvantaged children. This study supported the general contention that tests under-measure ability. For their total sample, the mean I.Q. was 80.7 with a standard deviation of 12.4. This compared with the Terman-Binet data with a mean of 101.8 and a standard deviation of 16. It was also found that I.Q. was negatively correlated with age, as the five year old group had a mean I.Q. of 86, while the thirteen year old group had a mean I.Q. of 65. They also found I.Q. to be significantly related to socio-economic level, with the upper level children having a mean I.Q. of 105 and the lower level children having a mean I.Q. of 79.

Shuey (1958) reviewed 72 studies of Negro intelligence scores. Given the generally accepted belief by psychologists that there is no innate difference in intellectual ability between Negro and White people, the finding by summation of research studies that the average Negro I.Q. is 85, gives further credence to the notion that intelligence tests under-measure intelligence of disadvantaged children.

There are other difficulties in using intelligence test scores besides the fact that they underestimate intelligence of culturally disadvantaged children. Semler and Iscoe (1963) studied learning abilities of Negro and White children and concluded that "educators should exercise greatest caution in inferring learning ability from measured intellectual levels alone."

Another general weakness of testing mental functioning with the culturally deprived is provided by Piaget and Inhelder (1947):

> "A test only gives us results on efficiency of mental activity without grasping the psychological operations in themselves....The test provides the sum of successes and failures, which is the actual result of past activities and attainments, but it leaves untouched the way in which they have been reached."

As Piaget and Inhelder indicate, psychological test scores provide only the sum of successes and failures. With culturally disadvantaged children we know this to be quite poor. What we are interested in, i.e., how they obtain the score which they achieve, is not revealed by general group tests.

A further difficulty may be inferred from the study by Lesser (1964) which was discussed earlier. He found essentially that while social class determines level of intelligence, ethnic group determines pattern of intelligence. Since many standardized tests tap only some skills, it is possible for an ethnic child to be handicapped or facilitated in terms of his previous experience with skills similar to those on a given test. If standardized tests generally tapped a broader range of skills, they might be more adequate for working with the disadvantaged.

At this point, one might ask why the tests used are not modified in order to make them more adequate for the culturally disadvantaged child? This is clearly something that would be quite popular were it methodologically sound. That it is not will be evident from the following discussion of culture-free tests.

'Culture-free' tests have in the past represented a popular attempt to take the cultural bias out of tests. In other words, their authors have thought to make it possible to infer general ability without the handicap provided by cultural disadvantage. Dyer (1963) has soundly criticized the assumptions on which these tests are based:

> "So-called 'culture-free' tests are built on one of two assumptions: 1) either the learning required to perform acceptably on a test is commonly or equally available to all people of all cultures, or 2) the stimulus material on the test is completely novel to all people of all cultures. Both assumptions are patently false."

Fowler (1957) did a comparative analysis of student performance on conventional and culture-controlled mental tests. In his study he contrasted three conventional with three cultural-controlled mental tests by comparing pupil test performance with sex, race, ethnic background, socio-economic status, and teacher estimate of pupil intelligence. He found, strikingly enough, that the type of test used did not greatly alter the intelligence score which was obtained. He did find that for Negro boys, lower socio-economic status was associated with a higher score on a conventional test, such as the California Test of Mental Maturity, and a lower score on a culture-free test, such as the Cattell Test. Fowler also found that pupil intelligence as estimated by the teacher corresponded most closely to that provided by conventional tests, not culture-free tests. There was nothing gained, in other words, from administering the culture-free test.

Haggard (1954) studied certain cultural determinants of measured intelligence. He investigated the influence of social status, practice, motivation, form of test, and manner of presentation on intelligence test performance. He found no significant difference between advantaged and disadvantaged children in their ability to learn to solve intelligence test problems. He further found that the revision of the test items was not sufficient enough in degree of alteration to reduce the difference in performance between the groups. He concluded his study by stating that it is not possible simply to modify the tests to remove their bias.

It is all too apparent from this brief consideration of the problems of psychological evaluation with culturally deprived children that little progress has been made. Psychological assessment has proved to be one of the most knotty problems within the general area of working with the culturally deprived.

Stating that this is an area in which we know very little is hardly comforting to the practitioner who must provide helpful answers to youngsters whose problems will not wait for their elders to find more adequate methods for helping them. Some possible measures which may prove helpful in the interim--before basic research provides more effective ways of assessing intelligence--follow.

Teahan and Drews (1962) compared nothern and southern children on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC). They concluded the following: Southern children had a verbal mean score of 80 and a performance mean score of 68; northern Negro children had a verbal mean score of 87 and a performance mean score of 88. This more sophisticated measure of intellectual assessment allowed for a finer discrimination within two groups of children generally classified as culturally disadvantaged.

In their monograph, Guidelines for Testing Minority Group Children, the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues cited the Boys Club of New York program, which found that WISC scores for culturally disadvantaged boys were typically five to ten points higher than group test scores, notably scores derived from the Otis. In discussing this result they suggested that the WISC gives weight to educational and language factors. Regardless of the specific reasons why the WISC scores were higher, what is important is that that test provides finer discrimination and makes it possible to infer the intellectual operations which went into giving the test score.

As the reader will recall, a major difficulty with minority group children, as cited by Piaget and Inhelder (1947), was the fact that the test did not allow inferences on how the final score was derived. With a test like the WISC, it is possible to obtain a full scale score, a sensitive item analysis, and a sub-test breakdown. Since the overall scores are substantially documented to be at least 15 points below the national average for culturally deprived youth, the ability to infer intellectual operations becomes particularly important.

It is also important for the educator working with the disadvantaged to compare a particular child's protocol with that of the typically advantaged child. Even though the measure is not as accurate as it might be, individual differences within the culturally deprived group certainly do exist and it will be important to relate their patterns of scores to those of the typically advantaged children. This will allow an assessment of both where the child is most able in relationship to the general population and also where he is least able.

Just as the record of a student in high school has proven to be the best predictor of his college rank, anyone working with the culturally deprived must weigh as many of the factors contributing to psychological assessment scores as possible in making a total evaluation. Such delicate indicators as motivation and family background are important in evaluating the disadvantaged child.

Another suggestion to be offered concerns a technique implemented in the New York City Public Schools to provide a substitute for the group tests which were dropped. The observation guide that was introduced attempts to systematize the clues that good teachers may use in judging the child's development, and provides a method for organizing and reporting information so that it may be used by other teachers. This observational guide will direct a teacher's attention to important aspects of intellectual development. It will also suggest various types of classroom behavior which reveal development in specific areas.

The Educational Testing Service at Princeton, New Jersey, is designing special performance tasks which will draw out the necessary reactions to learning situations. ETS is also developing a set of written exercises designed as a series of lessons, rather than as a test which will measure intellectual capacity. While methods such as those developed by ETS and the New York City Schools will not provide a single answer to all assessment problems, they do represent attempts to develop a framework for evaluating what are important intellectual ability signs in disadvantaged children and to provide a way to systematically reflect those signs.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are the major difficulties encountered in attempting to do psychological assessment with culturally disadvantaged children?

2. In what ways are standardized group tests inadequate for use with the culturally deprived?

3. What have normative studies revealed about the I.Q. test results with disadvantaged children?

4. As intelligence is frequently defined as the capacity for new learning, can it be safely assumed that this definition holds in testing with the disadvantaged?

5. What are the limitations of culture-free tests as an attempt to take the bias out of testing the culturally disadvantaged?

6. What are the advantages of using individual intelligence tests with disadvantaged children?

7. What are the possible gains from comparing a disadvantaged child's test protocol with that of a member of a normative group based on the general population?

8. What methods of psychological assessment other than standardized tests may be utilized in evaluating the culturally deprived?

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CHAPTER V

Educational Programs for Alleviating Cultural Deprivation

In this section focus will be on the sources of educational programs for alleviating deprivation and, more specifically, on the climate within the community, the home environment, and the relation of the problem in general to socio-economic status. The role of the school in alleviating cultural deprivation will be examined, with particular attention directed toward the different current orientations which can be used by the school. In addition, a number of suggestions concerning programs that fit within the province of educational institutions will be made.

The Community

America is rapidly becoming a more urban society. This change in our country is particularly relevant to a consideration of the problem of cultural deprivation, as increasing urbanization generally leads to increased segregation on the basis of income and race. Havighurst (1963) has provided a specific example of how this operates in Detroit. He has studied the relationship between income and distance which a family lives from the center of the business district. For those families living within six miles of the center of the city during the period 1951-1959, income grew 3%, while cost-of-living increased 12%. This represents a loss of 9% in real family income. Families living between six miles from the center of the city and the city limits had a 5% gain in real income, while suburban families had a 37% increase in real income.

The transient nature of the urban population is clearly evident in a study by Goldberg (1963), in which it was found that for 91 elementary schools in Manhattan there was a 51% turnover in school population. For 25 junior high schools there was a 47% turnover in school population. 43 schools within the population center of New York reported a turnover ranging from 70% to 99%. With such a large turnover it is nearly impossible to conduct a thorough and coordinated educational program. As the cities become increasingly segregated by income, and family income in terms of real buying power continues to go down, the children will become increasingly handicapped by the pressures within the home and from the rapid moving from location to location, as their parents go from one low-paying job to another.

The Home Environment

The Labor Department recently circulated a report on "The Negro Family" with the focus specifically directed to the Negro family in an urban area. The reasons why so many urban Negro children are classified as culturally disadvantaged are rooted in the nature of their family structure. Newsweek (Aug. 9, 1965) reported Labor Department findings as follows: 1) 22.9% of Negro women who live in urban areas who have ever been married are now deserted, divorced or separated; 2) by the time they reach 18 years of age, more than one-half of all Negro children have lived in broken homes for at least part of their lives; 3) 23.6% of all Negro babies born today are illegitimate (this percentage reaches as high as 43.4% for New York City's Harlem district); 4) while only 8% of all White children receive Aid to Dependent Children support, more than 50% of all Negro children require this support at some time during their childhood; 5) the over-all birth rate for Negroes predominantly within the lower socio-economic class is 40% higher than for Whites. Negroes will be in the majority by 1990 in seven out of ten of the biggest cities in the U.S.A. This would mean not only that the urban Negroes are at present largely culturally disadvantaged, but that this number will increase greatly within the next two decades. The problem is going to get worse before there is any improvement.

The reason why urban children may be disadvantaged is painfully evident in a study by Deutsch (1963), who found that 65% of Negro children in an urban setting have never been more than 25 blocks away from their homes; more than half of them reported that there were no books, pens, or pencils in their homes. These urban children do not have the cultural exposure that is necessary for acquiring the tools which lead to becoming more advantaged.

Socio-Economic Factors

The percentage of unskilled jobs in our economy is rapidly decreasing. Job security, job satisfaction, and the potential for advancement are more and more becoming based on educational attainment of at least the high school level and in many cases the college level.

The urban children who are substantially behind their peers in terms of knowledge by the time they reach high school have little opportunity for further education. It becomes necessary for them to go to work, since they are too handicapped educationally to remain in school. What happens to the culturally disadvantaged youth who leave school?

As reported by the Labor Department (Newsweek, Aug. 9, 1965 by age 17 nearly 40% of the Negro boys who are still in school have fallen at least one year behind their peers. For those students who had not remained in school, the unemployment rate was 29%. With the fact that they have only their labors to sell, and the fact that the market for the unskilled is declining rapidly, this problem will only get worse. While unemployment is highest among Negro teenagers, the over-all Negro unemployment rate is twice that of the White group. Nearly 33% of Negro men were unemployed at some time during 1963, with 1/2 of them being out of work for three months or more.

The sources of cultural deprivation are many. The structure of the community and the increased urbanization, the splintered homes, and the lack of stimulation in the home environment, are all factors. The possibility of alleviating these major difficulties is not to be found within the current structure of the economy.

The Role of the School in Alleviating Cultural Disadvantage

Of particular importance in this discussion of cultural disadvantage are three positions popularly taken with regard to the appropriate role of the school. In discussing these positions the work of Allinsmith and Goethals (1963) will be examined. These authors provided a review of the literature on the role of the schools in mental health.

1. The "3-R approach" assumes that the best possible stance for the school in relation to the community is to focus on traditional studies as "something that can be counted on in a changing world." The obligation of the school is to impart knowledge. There is minimal responsibility for character development and personality integration, which are seen as developing out of the intellectual rigor which is the basis of a traditional curriculum. A student learns to cope with problems by acquiring the cultural heritage which will equip him to solve problems. The school is seen as entrusted with one obligation: the imparting of knowledge to students. Concern for their relationships at home and within the community is not seen as a direct province of the school.

2. The 1950 White House Conference on Education provided a different definition of the responsibility of the school in relationship to students. In the Conference report the position was taken that the school should help to foster the healthy personality by stimulating ideals, assisting with vocational goals,

and in general creating the "whole healthy, happy child." In this view, guidance and education are assists to personality adjustment.

3. A third role of the school is seen in the view that might be termed "the cultural altering role," wherein the school is seen as a vehicle for creating attitudinal and personality changes for the betterment and survival of society.

In considering these possible roles for the school in relationship to cultural deprivation, the position that one takes regarding the role of the school will obviously determine the extent to which the school will assist the community in alleviating disadvantage conditions. In the "3-R Approach" the school is seen as responsible only for stimulating the child's intellectual growth; experimental programs designed to focus on other aspects of development would not be seen as major.

In developing a healthy personality, if that is the goal of the school, a different program would be found. It would undoubtedly focus on community resources and a broader conception of school responsibility. The school would not confine itself to mere academic duties, but would attempt to compensate in part for the deficiencies which disadvantaged children have suffered.

If the "cultural altering approach" is taken, the school would become in essence an architect of society; it would cooperate with the community and work closely in changing the attitudes and values of the culturally deprived children in ways which should result in an enriched life for such children.

In discussing the following programs, it will be apparent that educators and schools have taken different positions in attempting to determine their limits of responsibility in dealing with student development and cultural disadvantage.

Programs for Alleviating Cultural Deprivation

In presenting these programs which have been designed to alleviate the effects of cultural deprivation, we will attempt to present them as extensively as possible within the available space in order to allow presentation of the different varieties of approach which have been attempted. It is beyond the scope of this Discussion Guide to provide the specific details of any single program. Rather, it is hoped that discussion and plans for action based on that discussion will be stimulated through a presentation of a range of programs that have been found to be successful. The interested reader is referred to the Bibliography if he wishes to follow any specific program in greater detail.

Krugman (1961) discussed a program being tried in New York City, which includes: 1) subjective grading procedures, individual psychological assessments, and non-verbal intelligence tests (rather than group tests); 2) the major focus of the project on the younger group of children--this was because it has been found that their deficit was not as great in relationship to their peers as was that for older children and their peers; 3) a focus on changing the child's concept of himself in relationship to school by fostering an atmosphere which reflected the school genuinely cared about the child's progress; 4) both written and oral English training emphasis, as well as remedial services; 5) intensive instruction in combination with counseling services so that both the academic tools and the recognition of motivation were used; and 6) cooperation by the school in providing unusual cultural experiences for students--these include museum trips, theatres, and trips to libraries and scientific laboratories. Krugman concluded that schools with a program of this type would be instrumental in compensating to a significant degree for culturally deprived backgrounds.

The "Higher Horizons" program conducted in New York City is perhaps the most famous of the attempts to compensate for the effects of cultural deprivation and has as its major premise that regardless of past records and intelligence test scores, many human talents are going to waste in low socio-economic environments. The program began with third grade students and extended to the population of junior high schools. At the beginning of the first year, students were given reading and arithmetic ability tests and intelligence tests. They were exposed to a program of instruction which emphasized remedial teaching in arithmetic and reading, and a supplemented program based on cultural exposure and broadened experiences. The guidance staff was seen as critical to the success of the program. Guidance was seen as particularly important in assuring the participating student in a continuing way that the school was interested in him and in his future. The cultural enrichment program consisted of trips to museums, concerts, theatres, libraries--common occasions for advantaged children, but experiences the disadvantaged child might otherwise have never had.

There have been numerous follow-up studies of the Higher Horizons program students. The average individual gain in intelligence over a three year period has been 13 measured I.Q. points. For male students, the increase was 17 points; for girls the increase was 11 points. One reason for this discrepancy may be that the boys scored lower than girls on the original tests. Five students increased in measured intelligence after the program experience to every one student who remained constant. In 1957 26% of the students followed up were in the range of I.Q. of 110 and above.

This is particularly impressive when it is remembered that the effects of deprivation are progressive and cumulative. The peers of these students who were culturally deprived decreased markedly in intelligence in the time that the Higher Horizons students have shown great gain. Particularly relevant to the drop-out and unemployment problems is the fact that 40% more High Horizons students finished school than other students. 2 1/2 times more students are completing academic courses, and 3 1/2 times more students are going to continue with some type of post-high school education. Where the previous average for high school graduation had been 40%, the High Horizons group graduated 66% of its original members.

This Higher Horizons program has been clearly helpful in alleviating the effects of cultural deprivation--but it also represents great costs in terms of school expense, community involvement, and human involvement. It is not a program which can be easily duplicated.

Dawe (1942) attempted to work with orphanage children. She provided a total of approximately 50 hours, devoted to understanding words and concepts, looking at pictures, going on excursions, and listening to poems and stories. Children were divided into groups of 2 or 3 to increase communication and to assist them in thinking critically and noticing relationships among various objects and concepts. The children were encouraged to talk freely, with little stress being placed on grammatical correctness. The results from her work indicated an increase in curiosity on the part of the children as shown in their intellectual inquiry, critical comments, vocabulary and sentence length, and perception of relationships among objects.

Deutsch and Brown (1955) controlled socio-economic status in a study of children with pre-school experience and children without such experience. It was found that the mere occurrence of the opportunity for some type of early exposure was sufficient to produce significantly higher intelligence scores in fifth grade children.

In terms of programs currently underway, a study like this is strong support for programs such as the Federal Government's

"Operation Headstart." Findings from this project will indeed prove interesting.

Brazziel and Terril (1962) developed a six-week project to improve reading and number readiness for first grade students. As conceived, the project involved the use of readiness readers to develop perception, vocabulary, work reasoning, and ability to follow directions; weekly meetings with parents; and having the children watch a daily educational TV program at home for 30 minutes. Each week some phase of readiness was tested. At the end of the six week period, the Metropolitan Readiness Tests showed a significant increase for the experimental group.

Newton (1964) utilized a number of mechanical devices with culturally deprived children. Given the fact that these children favor concrete approaches to problems, she utilized such aids as program learning machines and auto-instructional devices. She used textbooks which had characters within them of ethnic origin similar to that of the students with whom she was working. She further proposed teaching which consisted of students teaching other students, which she felt would be effective because these culturally disadvantaged students had learned to distrust adults. Finally, she incorporated the use of language laboratories programmed for Standard English usage.

Riessman (1962) felt techniques such as role playing would increase the motivation of culturally deprived youth. He felt that there should be more male teachers and more masculine values incorporated into the school, as well as increased emphasis by the school on consistency and encouragement for the often insecure culturally disadvantaged child. As with the approach advocated by Newton, Riessman suggests that anxiety can be reduced in deprived students by use of teaching machines. He further recommends as optimal, smaller classes with short work periods, and small work groups. He advocates a general emphasis on more practical education.

The final educational program for alleviating cultural deprivation to be discussed is that by Goldberg (1963) which is offered under the title of "Implications for School Experimentation." It is both comprehensive and imaginative:

1) Pre-School education: Programs under pre-school education should differ from the standard nursery school program by providing greater emphasis on experiences which will prepare for actual school learning; these programs should begin no later than age three.

2) The primary grades as preparatory to formal instruction:

Since the deprived child is viewed as having insufficient background for dealing with abstract and symbolic materials, the first two years of the elementary school program are devoted to preparation for learning academic subjects. The goal here is to prevent the development of negative feelings and defeating experiences until sufficient competence and mastery have been achieved. It was felt that 2 or 3 years of preparation of a non-academic nature would make it possible for the disadvantaged child to master more successfully formal learning.

3) Male teachers: This is based on the fact that many disadvantaged children come from broken homes and need a stable male identification model.

4) Separation by sex: This novel proposal by Goldberg is based on the fact that particularly in Negro groups self-concept and achievement patterns are greatly different for sex groups. Further, since fathers are frequently gone, it was felt that boys are in sufficient contact with female authority figures that they do not need to be in a classroom where the Negro girls are superior to the boys in academic ability.

5) Change in materials: The focus here is on shifting materials which the students use from the middle class suburban biased textbooks to books which will represent the urban environment with more clarity. Content would be more of an interracial and interethnic nature, to make it easier for the child to identify with the characters.

6) The application of special methods: Under this heading it is proposed that new and different approaches be used--motor-oriented teaching (particularly teaching machines); the use of tangible rewards which will provide the immediacy that many deprived children need; and experimenting with learning tasks where the attempt is to increase attention span to make it possible for children to concentrate for longer periods of time.

7) Teacher education and re-orientation: Use of classtime should be evaluated. (Deutsch found that from 50% to 80% of classtime in a lower class white school was devoted to non-academic tasks). Method of discipline should be reconsidered, since not accepting the disadvantaged child does little for mending his already self-depreciatory image. More individualized instruction and concrete assistance should be provided.

A number of studies have been presented which depict current thought in working with the culturally deprived in educational settings. The emphasis has been different in regard to the extent to which the community services have been involved. But a common denominator of all these studies has been their use of the elementary and secondary schools as at least a basis for their work. In the final chapter of this guide, consideration will be given to the relationship of business and industry to the culturally deprived, particularly in relation to personnel selection and on-the-job training.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are the major sources of cultural disadvantage?

2. Given the school's role in society, what is the limit of its responsibility in helping alleviate the problems of the disadvantaged?

3. Which of the three possible roles that the school could take offers the most effective approach to assisting the disadvantaged?

4. What are the most readily transferable features of the progrm discussed by Krugman on the Higher Horizons project?

5. What basic assumptions about the nature of the disadvantaged student underlies the Higher Horizons project?

6. At which age level are efforts likely to be the most fruitful? the least fruitful?

7. Are there any other viable alternatives to federally supported programs, such as "Operation Headstart?"

8. Can a program such as that advanced by Goldberg be effective without over-extending the resources of the school?

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CHAPTER VI

A Viewpoint and Pertinent Applications

This chapter attempts to provide a frame of reference from which to contemplate the culturally disadvantaged and to make pertinent applications of findings reported in the previous chapters to employment in business and industry.

Scientific knowledge is available to nations of the world which if implemented immediately would have a striking impact on cultural deprivation in the next generation. Planned population control via birth control is being given consideration by major world wide religious groups as well as over-populated nations. The provisions for food stuffs adequate to the physical well-being of man are widely considered at international conferences. The development of adequate housing facilities for over-crowded slums and plans for the provision of basic education for whole populations are among other basic questions receiving world wide attention.

All of these considerations highlight the efforts of man to provide an improved physical and psychological environment for the optimal development of man. Maslow (1954) has sketched a theoretical position aptly descriptive of the concept of the maximal development of man. His basic premise is that man must have the basic biological needs of hunger, health and safety satisfied before he can progress to satisfaction of the motivating psychological needs of belongingness, love, esteem, and self-actualization.

The dramatic population growth of the 1950's is projected to continue through the 1960's. Department of Labor statistics (1960) show an amazing increase in population in the United States since 1930.

United States Population
(millions)

Year	Number	Growth Between Decades
1930	123.2	--
1940	132.1	8.9
1950	151.7	19.6
1960	179.8	28.1
1965	193.6	--
1970	208.2	28.4
*1975	Between 226-235	--
*1980	Between 246-260	

The accelerating rate of growth has caused speculation on the ability of the country's resources to finance and support anti-poverty programs in the years ahead without weakening seriously other areas of national government activities.

Many writers today are making forecasts of the world of work as it will exist in the next several decades. Forecasts

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*United States Census Bureau estimates.

of this kind are based on past and current knowledge and the writer then makes a prediction based on evaluation. Such forecasts are relatively pessimistic in their outlook on the immediate future employment of culturally deprived minorities. Michael (1965) states:

> "The numbers of skilled Negroes will increase, as will the opportunities to acquire skills and to use them. But the gap between the proportions of White and Negro skilled labor will increase, too, at least over the next decade for there will continue to be much prejudice in the white community, and large portions of the Negro population will continue to have inadequate standards of performance and motivation." (p. 138)

As is shown by the statistics appearing in Chapter V of this report, if the present rate of increase of culturally disadvantaged Negroes living in urban areas continues, their numbers will increase greatly within the next two decades. It is fair to add that these conclusions are valid only if existing conditions continue to operate as they have in the past. The impact of a forceful immediate program planned to reduce family size, strengthen the family as a unit, provide basic as well as advanced education, and improve the living environment of the culturally deprived could alter the status of cultural minority groups significantly in the next decade.

Seen in the context of the above paragraphs, the problem of the culturally deprived is the problem of society as a whole. The schools, business and industry, and social and political institutions must focus immediately on the problem of the culturally deprived minorities if significant changes are to occur.

This next section will deal with the role of business and industry, government, and unions in their relationships with the employment of minority youth who are culturally disadvantaged.

The Role of Business and Industry

In recent years product prices have remained relatively stable in spite of rising unit labor costs. As a result profits have been squeezed between steady prices and rising costs. This squeeze has tended to reduce the incentive for business and industrial modernization and expansion. Investment which would open new jobs and provide new opportunities is not forthcoming since there is no reasonable prospect of a profit.

It is becoming increasingly important for business to hire the most qualified people available. But someone from a disadvantaged background is unlikely to be among that pool.

Management at the top level is interested and concerned about the practical and human aspects of achieving fair employment. The problem they face is reconciling their need to compete industrially to stay in business with their desire to assist the culturally deprived.

There are strong forces--social, statutory and regulatory--exerting pressure on industry to mount fair employment practices. How best to do this is the substance of the article which is based on J. J. Hagan's (a pen name) experience (1964) as Director of Industrial Relations for three leading multi-plant manufacturing companies, with locations throughout the United States.

He recommends a planned series of effective but gradual changes on the assumption that changes involving groups of people can best be accomplished in this way rather than by dramatic overnight "great leaps forward." Important points for successful transition from a culturally and racially homogeneous work force to a heterogeneous work force include the following:

1. The placement of qualified minority group employees immediately in clerical, production, or higher jobs breaks down the persistent thema of relating minority employees to unskilled and low-skilled jobs.

2. Initial minority employee placements in a non-union segment of the plant will often give the union leader the opportunity to develop better acceptance by unionized segments.

3. Initial placements should be slightly 'over-qualified' to insure their success in new jobs.

4. Initial placement should be made in departments where stable employment is present. Cut-backs and layoffs after two or three months can remove successful new minority workers and slow up the process of successful integration

5. Efforts should be made to orient key employees to acceptance and assistance of the new minority employee.

In companies which are already organized at the lower levels, Mr. Hagan recommends a careful appraisal of minority employees for potential talent to move up. Selection methods must be carefully analyzed in order to determine that they do not unduly favor those already in the white collar group.

A study by Norgren et. al. (1959) supported by the Ford Foundation, the National Urban League and five leading United States corporations was designed to provide information on practices in employing Negro Workers. The findings indicated that expanding Negro employment is a multi-factor problem and includes such factors as the company's particular needs, the community climate, the attitudes of present employees, union policy, and the feeling of Negro employees.

The chances of success are greatest, the researchers suggest, where Negroes are carefully selected and brought into beginner jobs in an occupational field from or within which promotions are possible. This procedure permits the best opportunity for developing the skills and good job attitudes that are not always found in the Negro segment of the labor force.

The business community represents an important factor in the culturally deprived employment equation. But there are other factors of almost equal importance. The discussion will now turn to one of these, the function of labor unions.

The Role of the Labor Unions

Membership in national and international unions with headquarters in the United States numbers more than 18,000,000, or about 25% of the labor force, according to a 1960 estimate of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Stein (1962) in an article on the expectations of the young worker entering a union discusses the restriction of entry into unions representing certain skilled trades. He also mentions that racial restrictions exist in some unions. In general, the craft unions have tended to practice racial exclusion but it now appears the practice is diminishing. Industrial unions have a much better record in this area, but locals of some industrial unions have tended to abide by the customs which prevail in the local community.

The trade unions have at local levels tended to slow management attempts at utilizing fair employment practices. It has been reported by the NAACP national labor secretary that there are more Negro Ph.D.'s in the United States than licensed plumbers or electricians. Obviously other factors than union interference are involved in this condition but a climate of acceptance and permissive action is essential if Negro youth are ever to be trained in skilled apprenticeship programs.

The skilled trade apprentice is a prestige job that presents a serious entrance difficulty for the minority youth. A Labor Department Bulletin (1962) points out that the youth most likely to enter apprenticeships are already at work in the skilled trades and are most likely to be aware of the relatively few openings which occur.

A second factor mitigating against the entrance of minority youth into apprenticeable occupations is the traditional 'father to son' passing down of apprenticeships which has existed for several generations in some unions.

Top union leaders over the country are aware of the problems involved in adding more Negroes to the skilled labor force and are making sincere efforts to bring about needed improvements.

Given the passage of time, discrimination by business and industry as well as by unions will hopefully cease to exist in terms of actual hiring or entry practices.

Summary of the Discussion Guide

In this final section an analysis is attempted of the conclusions and findings of writings and research. These have yielded the following terms as descriptive of the culturally deprived minorities:

a) Personality structure:
    alienated
    anti-intellectual
    content- and problem-centered
    not abstract or form-centered
    lack of orientation toward the future

lacks formal language
lack of self-confidence
feelings of inadequacy
negative self-image
inability to assume responsibility
poor capacity to work cooperatively
poor capacity to adjust appropriately to peers

b) Intellectual capabilities
unable to focus on task over time
difficulty in shifting modes of responses
inability to resist distractions
public language used but not formal language
difficult to assimilate new intellectual experiences
self-defeating behaviors
expectancies of failure
personal unworthiness

This is a formidable list of personality and intellectual deficiencies when viewed as qualities which an individual has or has not. The all or none attribution of these to culturally deprived minorities constitutes an erroneous evaluation. Rather, these are descriptive of population differences in which one population that is culturally deprived on the average is found to possess significantly more of the descriptive characteristics than another control population, generally middle class. Within any population group there are wide individual variations. Results of idiopathic studies dealing with intensive individual analysis can only be completely applicable to the individual studied and all others exactly like him.

The substance of the above discussion is to point out that within any group or population or sample there are wide individual variations.

An example of this is the distribution of intelligence in minority and White populations. Briggs and Hummel (1962) report:

> "1. Cultural conditioning affects performance.
>
> 2. Many individuals in minority groups surpass the average level of the White populations, the percentages surpassing being twenty-five or more.
>
> 3. Minority group persons are found at all levels of intelligence."

Therefore human relations with a single member of an ethnic or social group can best be carried forth with full knowledge of the general findings pertaining to the population interpreted astutely in relating to the individual.

Examination of the terms listed under personality structures and intellectual characteristics suggest certain guidelines of behavior for effective and efficient human relations with culturally deprived minority groups. Teachers, supervisors, and others in leadership relations with minority youth may obtain useful insights from the analysis and study of the following list of behavioral guidelines extrapolated from the personality and intellective findings.

Behavioral Guidelines

1. A consistently friendly approach.

2. Keep instructions simple, direct and immediate and centered on immediate activities.

3. Repeat instructions and give periodic checks to see that they are being followed carefully.

4. Initially, carefully guide and reinforce desirable behaviors with immediate rewards. Intermittent reinforcement should be gradually introduced. Constant praise or reward is not as effective over time as is intermittent reinforcement.

5. Develop more adequate ability in language skills. If necessary conduct special sessions. Make sure that all words used are understood by the recipient.

6. Do not place too much emphasis on future possibilities. Emphasize the rewards present in the here and now for desirable behaviors.

7. Be alert to stress in minority groups of culturally deprived. Attempt to provide built-in stress relievers which will reduce conflict situations.

8. Do not provide task instructions which are comprehensive and require continued understanding over time. Rather break

the task into smaller units administered at efficient periodic intervals.

9. Expect defeatist and negative attitudes which must be adroitly handled to maximize optimal performance from the culturally deprived.

10. Be objective, firm, and fair. Hold to standards of performance which are consistent.

The list of behavioral guidelines are only suggestive for leaders of culturally disadvantaged minority populations in school or work situations. Readers may disagree with some of the implications and wish to modify or add new ones. This procedure is, of course, very desirable. To stimulate those who work with disadvantaged minority populations to study and analyze the personality and intellectual domain and think through the dynamics of relating to the culturally deprived is, of course, an aim of this report.

In sum this chapter has reviewed some global aspects of culturally deprived populations, then proceeded to the specific analysis of research findings pertaining to culturally deprived groups in the United States and possible applications of these findings to day-to-day relationships, with a final suggestion that the guidelines listed are only suggestive and intended to stimulate additional thought and action from those whose daily activities are with members of the culturally disadvantaged minorities.

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